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ABSTRACT

Pressures on rural Appalachian families to function as an integral part of the larger American society have led to internal discord and a "Culture of Poverty"; consequently, a new vehicle for rural community reorganization is needed, particularly for low-income rural Appalachian communities. An alternative for non-conventional development should offer opportunities for attaining the goals of individual adjustment to society and long term satisfaction with life. Preceeding the initiation of a new system, the causes of current marginal adjustment of these families should be determined by Extension agents, and more efficient mechanisms of assistance offered for program implementation. Repeated personal interaction within initially non-conventional neighborhoods should constitute the basis for implementation. Resulting interaction within developing sub-communities should be initiated by a change agent, who would be responsible for providing opportunities for people to meet their educational, economic and social needs and who would encourage association within the larger community. A formal community organization could eventually be used as a vehicle for continuous attainment of economic and other objectives, be increasingly self-perpetuating, and be efficient and flexible enough to maintain equilibrium with the larger American society. (JD)

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RESEARCH BULLETIN

The Changing Rural Appalachian Community and Low-Income Family: Implications for Community Development

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The Changing Rural Appalachian Community and Low-Income Family: Implications for Community Development

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Preface

This bulletin will examine the highlights of an approach to family and community organization suitable for rural Appalachia. It is not a development plan as such, but a method of approach based, in large part, on recent data dealing with the changing relationship between rural Appalachia and the larger American society. This so-called macro-analysis is rapidly coming into focus as a necessary form of study of communities in general.[1]

Although the proposed approach deals with the entire rural community, primary emphasis is placed on selected low-income families and neighborhoods. In spite of recent advancements elsewhere in Appalachia, these groups are expected to remain a major, if not the major, problem area in the coming years. What is important about these families and neighborhoods is that, first, they constitute a large proportion of the state's rural population—the main clientele group of the Extension Service—and second, if the reasons for their particular behavior and resistance to change are understood, conventional Extension or community and family development methods of dealing with these families could be more effective. This method of approach is not suggested as a substitute for, or means of, intrusion into either the fields of economic development, social work or family service, but simply as a supplement to conventional individual or group approaches which could facilitate the efforts of agents working in these fields.

A major reason for the success of the Extension Service in recent years has been its flexibility in serving a variety of new needs that societal complexity and rapid change are now producing. The overall aim of Extension programs and the philosophy which supports them have allowed Extension agents to provide services, mainly educational and on a variety of subjects, to diverse segments of society, including the urban sector. Considering the inherent flexibility of the program, it seems justifiable for Extension to take another look at critical parts of its traditional clientele group—the rural sector—and the new opportunities for service that newly acquired knowledge might provide.

[1]Roland Warren, a leading authority on the American community, uses this concept as a primary theme in the third edition of his textbook, *The American Community* (Rand McNally, 1978). Here, Warren comments on the need for community studies to be based on the relationship between community and the larger American society, finally recommending a revolution in the study of all American communities based on that relationship. For the last 40 years, the need for this type of study has probably been far greater for rural Appalachia than for other parts of the country.

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The Changing Rural Appalachian Community and Low-Income Family: Implications for Community Development

1. Introduction

This bulletin examines recent changes (and related problems) in the rural Appalachian family and community, and in light of these changes, proposes a vehicle for rural community organization in rural Appalachia. Although the proposed method of organization refers to the entire rural community, its implications are illustrated in large part through the use of selected low-income rural families and neighborhoods.

Since World War II there has been tremendous pressure on the rural Appalachian community and family (from within and without Appalachia) to function as an integral part of the larger American society. In the fifties and sixties, pressure from high expectations and an increased desire for urban life styles and incomes eventually led to heavy out-migration and considerable discord within the rural Appalachian community and family. Such change is not unique to rural Appalachia; it is a consequence of modern technological growth. Racial, socioeconomic and gender groups have recently been under similar pressures to achieve, because of the ideologies of consumerism and egalitarianism which demand conformity among all Americans, while at the same time keeping the doors closed for many, including rural Appalachians.[2]

In spite of these problems and of deficiencies in the contributions of major social institutions (e.g., the family and school), rural Appalachia is making a considerable effort to overcome its problems so that it can function more closely as a part of the larger American society. Such effort can be seen in the progression of social and economic differentiation and specialization which is taking place in rural Appalachia today.[3] Although modern changes may have produced severe disruption, many

[2]An exploratory study conducted in 1967 by this author in four small communities in Mingo and Monongalia counties has shown that in spite of noticeable increases in income (as compared to the urban sector), about 47 percent of the respondents said that people in the community are less satisfied with the amount of money they are making. Some 25 percent said they are more satisfied and 28 percent are as satisfied as they were before the World War II years. Differences are more pronounced in reference to a question dealing with the "desire to make as much money as city folks" (where the corresponding proportions are 51, 16 and 32 percent) and a question referring to the "desire to be like city folks" (where the corresponding proportions were 55, 16, and 29 percent).

[3]John D. Photiadis, "An Overview of the Processes of Social Transition in Rural Appalachia," Office of Research and Development, Division of Social and Economic Development, Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University, 1977.

scholars see increased freedom of choice and the opportunity for a better society.[4] That is, the present discord may be seen as presenting an opportunity for rural Appalachia to establish a more fruitful relationship with the larger American society and to improve its quality of life. This philosophy (which in essence serves as a guideline) is in contrast to the philosophy of those writers who suggest, often with some very good arguments, that we should leave non-conventional rural families, who may be satisfied with their present marginal adjustment to society, alone. The Extension Service nationally has maintained that people should be helped to search for a wider range of alternatives and choose the life style they prefer. What is suggested in addition is that before alternatives to non-conventional family styles are presented, the reasons behind the behavior of certain families should be explored under a wider framework, with an emphasis on their relationship to the larger American society. First, it should be determined whether the marginal adjustment of the families *is due to lack of know-how or is a form of retreat from society into either traditionalism or deviance.* Second, if families choose to ask for help, a new, more efficient mechanism of assistance is suggested; specifically, a new community development organization. Such an organization might be attempted for small rural communities instead of direct intervention or even creation of a conventional community development organization (which usually involves organization or coordination of one or more formalized parts). This organization could emerge as the offspring of repeated personal interaction at the community level, with the interaction initiated (and to an extent directed) by the change agent through the arrangement of opportunities for people to meet their needs. As explained below, the same basic process of "personal interaction" led to the social autonomy of the rural Appalachian community and, in turn, to its peculiarities in life styles. Third, because interaction at the community level might have negative efforts on some groups (for instance, those described as "groups in retreat"), it is also suggested that the use of interaction within the sub-community serves as a means of creating new sub-community organizations.

Although initially difficult to create, this new social organization is proposed with the expectation that eventually the new organization will: (a) be used on a continuous basis as a vehicle for the attainment of all objectives, economic or otherwise; (b) have the ability to perpetuate itself without the continuous presence of the agent; and (c) will be effective and flexible enough to help the community and its parts to maintain a satisfactory equilibrium with the larger American society, rather than be completely at its mercy as during the three decades following World War II.

The above notions will now be analyzed in more detail. In order to provide the proper causal background, material presented in other publications will be reviewed.

Source of Data

Data on rural communities and families have been drawn, in part, from an earlier publication summarizing principles of rural social transition in Appalachia. This

[4]"Despite bombardment of changing relationships, routines and habits the human animal is unique in his ability to selectively screen out what is irrelevant and retain what is useful. Pragmatic new lifestyles are emerging in response to what began as strident calls for less conformity, culminating in the individual's having more control over his own destiny. Tensions and anxiety have been transformed into healthy release of energy. Like it or not, our stable, rooted world is outmoded. Now we need to learn to live in a new one." Allen D. Hass, "Exhilarating Age of Stressful Change," *Ambassador*, Summer 1978, p. 55.

summary is based on: (1) earlier published data from an empirical survey conducted in the State of West Virginia and in Cleveland, Ohio, where West Virginia migrants were interviewed;[5] (2) follow-up in-depth interviews of selected respondents in West Virginia; and (3) recent interviews with Family Service, Extension and Social Work agents working with rural Appalachian families, in particular the types of families called "families in retreat." Because of the implications for action programs these types of families are emphasized in this bulletin. In order to more clearly understand some of the major reasons for the retreat of these families and the need for the creation of a new community organization based on interaction, the nature of the early rural Appalachian community and family are discussed.

2. The Early Community and Family

In the past, isolation, internal homogeneity and extensive *face to face interaction* within the rural Appalachian family and community produced highly integrated and cohesive community and family groups or cohesive "social systems."

Cohesiveness was further cemented through frequent marriages among kin living in the same community, particularly within the Appalachian neighborhood. These neighborhoods became known as "kinship neighborhoods."[6] People born into such closely knit families and neighborhoods developed personalities which were in line with family and community, because of restricted but extensive personal interaction (particularly on the subsistence farm where the family functioned as both a social and economic unit). This equilibrium or accord between social environment and personality is usually associated with life satisfaction and contributes to the effectiveness of what is called the "boundary maintenance mechanism."[7] In other words, in spite of the way modern writers—often using contemporary middle class values—describe the rural Appalachia of earlier times, there was considerable satisfaction with life within the closely knit extended family and neighborhood. People often made efforts to keep things as they were because they were afraid that by changing and becoming more like the outside world they might lose this satisfaction. In general, cohesiveness and satisfaction with life was the product of extensive personal interaction among a relatively homogenous people.

As years went by, large numbers of sons and daughters of early settlers settled close to their parents, and over-population, land fragmentation and soil depletion

[5]For empirical testing of selected propositions see: John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," Appalachian Center Research Report No. 5, (1973); John Photiadis, Leonard Sizer, and Jim Way, "Migration and Occupational Adjustment of West Virginians in the City," Office of Research and Development (Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1974); John Photiadis, "West Virginians in their Own State and Cleveland, Ohio," Revised Edition (Office of Research and Development, West Virginia University, 1975). For theoretical analysis involving selected propositions see: John Photiadis and Richard Ball, "Changes in Rural Normative Patterns," *Journal of Rural Sociology*, 41, il (1976); John Photiadis, "Changes in Rural Social Organization," *The European Journal of Rural Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 1-2, 1976.

[6]The term was coined by James Brown of the University of Kentucky, because most early small community relationships involved members of the extended family group.

[7]The process or mechanism through which group solidarity, identity and interaction patterns within the system are preserved.

followed.[8] Thus, in particular during the early part of this century, signs of strain and discord appeared among some families and parts of the farming community. But even more extensive discord appeared in some of the new mining communities which were formed after the turn of the century. "Families from the fragmented farm, dislodged from their primary groups and the stability of subsistence farming, moved into the new and rapidly changing communities of newcomers where employment was unstable and exploitation of workers was common."[9]

Still, in spite of the difficulties of economic and social adjustment, self-respect and interest in community affairs were in considerable part maintained even among those communities and families under stress, especially the farming communities. The wife of a businessman in a small town in Pocahontas County, West Virginia (who claimed knowledge of all low income families and their roots in this isolated town), offered a typical response to a question about the poor families of the twenties . . .

> . . . in the twenties poor families respected themselves . . . . if even the housewife had two dresses she would wear a clean dress to go to the store, there she would ask the whereabouts of the families of other shoppers and they in turn would ask about hers . . . poor were like anybody else, they liked and were liked, the only difference was that they had less money than other people . . . many poor people today are different, they don't care, they don't care about the community, they don't have enough pride . . . then most of the poor here in town I knew enjoyed their family, their relatives, their churches, all happenings in the community and the arrival of the daily train, like anybody else . . . kids played out in the streets, often barefoot, and they were as respectful and happy as it could be.

Not only was there a prevalence of feelings of belonging and attachment, but even among those low-income families there was considerable satisfaction with life.

A flexible and diverse religious system capable of fulfilling a variety of needs and a highly successful extended family system contributed strongly to this satisfaction with life in both types of communities. In spite of a noticeable lack of formal organizations, activities, and services within the early rural Appalachian community, the extended family fulfilled many of its social and economic needs. For these reasons, it would not be wrong to suggest that the rural Appalachian family of the past was one of the most successful facets of the American family institution.

In general, extensive personal interaction within the isolated rural community (often immune from outside social pressures) and the fulfillment of basic needs through two highly successful social institutions, the family and religion, kept the rural Appalachian community traditional, autonomous, and without close links to the institutions of the larger American society. The family in large part performed the functions of other institutions, including major aspects of the economic institution. This in turn enabled the rural Appalachian to resist the temptations of city life and in particular the temptation of higher wages.

> In Saint George, Tucker County, West Virginia, where newly returned migrants were interviewed, respondents, almost without exception, agreed that before the war starting wages for unskilled workers in Baltimore were 35 to 40 cents an hour and only 10 cents an hour in Saint George. One such person is in the process of

[8]Cratis D. Williams, "Who are the Southern Mountaineers?" *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present*, Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 1976.

[9]Paul F. Cressey, "Social Disorganization and Reorganization in Harlan County, Kentucky," American Sociological Review, 14, 3, June, 1949.

building a new house on the family farm in Saint George. He will retire to his original Appalachian hometown from Baltimore where he has lived since 1938. His starting wage in Baltimore at the time was 38 cents an hour, while in Saint George starting wages were 10 cents an hour with work not readily available. Local residents agreed and added that people were often glad to become involved in public work projects paying 5 cents an hour. At that time mechanization of the farm and overpopulation had created wide-spread underemployment. But underemployment was legitimate because there were no jobs and the preference for staying home instead of going to Baltimore was in line with what we called "boundary maintenance mechanisms" of the community social system. Thus feelings of relative deprivation were limited. In a later discussion of the family, people in this situation are called "respectable poor." This kind of underemployment and the poverty that goes with it (for the majority of rural Appalachians) had nothing to do with alienation and the "culture of poverty," at least the way it will later be defined.

The social cohesiveness, and in turn, attachment to the kinship system and satisfaction with life which repeated personal interaction eventually produced (after the turn of the century) kept too many new families in the hollows. The land fragmentation and soil depletion which followed, particularly among families which had to settle on mountain slopes, brought into the region what might be defined as economic distress. The consequence of such distress was limited economic and social development which in some cases was followed by certain social discord.

Things began to change in the years after World War II as the social independence of the rural community disappeared and social and economic dependence on the outside became more intense. Community and family discord followed and the need for a community social organization able to handle internal problems and deal with the outside vastly increased. Ensuing community and family discord is discussed below and a design for a new social organization is presented.

3. Weakening of the Informal Social Structure—Modern Community and Family Discord

Technological changes, particularly during the Second World War, influenced the availability of jobs in the city and eventually weakened the social independence of the rural Appalachian family and community from the larger American society. Members of Appalachian communities and families (in the beginning, the young or more educated), began to shift their orientation toward the larger American society. This larger society became the model they used to regulate their behavior and choose a life style, which generally led to a greater reliance on society's goods and services.

Therefore, under the criteria of the larger society the income of family members working in subsistence farming became insufficient and they felt, from an economic point of view, relatively deprived working on the farm. This led to: (1) differentiation within the family and the separation of the family's social life from economic functions (in most cases only the father, sometimes helped by his wife, stayed on the farm); and (2) specialization (a) on the farm (e.g., one-crop production) and (b) of the family members (by means of out-migration or retraining so that they could contribute more efficiently to some other aspect of the larger economic system). Because of these trends, small farms and inefficient coal mines either speeded up mechanization where possible or closed; as a consequence, out-migration occurred even faster.

Within a brief period of time the average rural Appalachian family became what French sociologist LePlay called a "stem family;" although still functioning as a system, its branches were to be found hundreds of miles away. Because of such attributes the stem family became the most important mechanism affecting the migration of Appalachians and their adjustment to urban centers.

Because of the new pressures for performance which accompanied the perceived expectations of the larger society, families with greater resources who remained in the mountains began changing in most respects in a manner similar to the way rural families had elsewhere. They modeled themselves after the norms and life styles of the larger society. Adolescents in particular became more oriented toward urban teen-age groups. At the same time these teen-agers, and often the entire family, became more detached from the central set of community norms.

Often, however, even families with greater means were faced with new adjustment problems. Problems produced by the breaking up of family relationships (due to out-migration and other factors) led to social and psychological discord; an example of this is the Kentucky Syndrome. This syndrome is described as involving symptoms of school phobias, dependent personality disorders, deviations in social development and psychophysical reactions that occur as a consequence of the breaking up of family relationships.

On the other hand, early socialization in the typical rural Appalachian family, even during the very recent periods of transition, had many favorable effects on the individual. Studies reveal a striking absence of disorders derived from emotional deprivation, a complete lack of infant autism and suicide, a high capacity for self-sacrifice for the good of the family unit, and a low incidence of symptoms of alienation in Appalachian youth.

Families with fewer resources had greater difficulty keeping up with changing situations, particularly new expectations. Many families had a considerable distance ahead of them before realizing their newly formed goals and expectations. Although these families had fewer means than other families, they had to catch up (which involved considerable distance) and keep up with families outside the region.

As a consequence certain families of this kind gradually began to adopt non-conventional means of adjustment to the new situation. This sometimes included retreat into welfare (which happened to be available at that time), closer involvement in sectarian churches and closer attachment to traditional, simplistic life styles. These are the families one can call "families in retreat."

Similarly, families usually with older or unskilled husbands who returned to Appalachia in the first years after migration often showed patterns similar to those with limited means who for one reason or another had not migrated. Furthermore, a loosening of the central conformity rules of the community and of the extended family facilitated the more diverse and sometimes deviant modes of family adjustment. Certain, primarily low-income, families not only developed more permissive rules but also tended to stretch some of the middle class values they possessed to justify certain deviant forms of behavior. But at the same time, they retained intact some of their traditional values such as "sectarian fundamentalism" and "life in harmony with nature."

These new modes of adjustment of Appalachian families with fewer means were inadequate to reduce stress to the extent that adjustive rationalizations would not be required. Certain members, particularly male and female heads of households, developed psychological or psychosomatic rationalizations to cope with feelings that they were performing in a deviant manner in relation to the larger society. Furthermore, those early families which shifted into these forms of maladjustment had children who were born and socialized in this environment. Although some of these children, when grown, developed personality attributes that could bridge the gap between the low-income family and larger society, others in increasing number developed attributes that *eventually produced life styles resembling those of what is called the "culture of poverty." In the years before World War II there were fewer rural families exhibiting these attributes and the symptoms were usually milder.* Similarly, in recent years and in particular in rural communities which are now prospering, the number of these families has *probably* declined. However, considering that the status of many of these families is determined by the way they relate to the larger American society—a condition difficult to change—and by the opportunity to form independent social units within the hollow (e.g., associations with similar families), change in these families becomes difficult.

The way things look now it is probable that these families will continue to be the major social problem of rural Appalachia for years to come. Below are described aspects of the interplay of social, economic and psychological factors leading to the entrapment of individuals and families into non-conventional life styles, in particular the so-called "culture of poverty." Not only neighboring families but Extension agents as well have difficulty explaining or justifying behavior associated with this culture and therefore often refrain from approaching them even in cases where conventional methods of approach are available.

4. Appearance of Institutionalized Forms of the So-Called "Culture of Poverty"

Culture of Poverty Defined: According to Oscar Lewis, who coined the term, the culture of poverty is "... a design of living which is passed down from generation to generation."[10] Among the seventy traits he used to define this culture are: provincial perspective, unemployment, absence of savings, lack of privacy, gregariousness, frequent use of physical violence in child training, predisposition to authoritarianism, inability to defer gratification, fatalism, mistrust of government, strong feelings of powerlessness, marginality and helplessness.[11]

Lewis groups these seventy traits into four major areas: (1) the nature of the family; (2) attitudes, values and character structures; (3) the nature of the community; and (4) the relationship between the culture and the larger society.[12] The last aspect is the main concern here. The relationship with the larger society differs from those in other parts of the country because of physical isolation, homogeneity, and particularly the socioeconomic characteristics of rural Appalachia.

[10]Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American*, 215, 1964, p. 19-25.

[11]Also see Barbara E. Coward, Joe E. Feagin, and J. Allen Williams, "The Culture of Poverty Debate: Some Additional Data" in *Social Problems*, Vol. 21, 5. 1972. p. 622.

[12]Oscar Lewis, *La Vida*, Random House, New York, 1965.

> One of the major attributes discussed in relation to the culture of poverty is value orientation,[13] especially as it differs from that of the middle class.[14] Richard Della Fave, reviewing value orientations of the poor, summarized studies of this kind and presented a set of basic premises that are included implicitly or explicitly in them: (1) there exists a set of values unique to the poor; (2) these values have arisen as a direct result of the experience of living in poverty; (3) the actual day-to-day behavior of the poor is heavily influenced by these values; (4) much of this behavior is highly dysfunctional for the poor themselves, in that it works against their rising up and out of poverty; (5) the values of the poor are passed on largely intact from one generation to the next; (6) because of the self-perpetuating nature of their values, the poor will continually fail to take advantage of opportunities for upward mobility even if these are greatly expanded.[15]
>
> Among the important traits that are considered to have their base in these values are the lack of ambition or the lack of valuing mobility,[16] and the value of a life free of binding entanglements which permits relatively free expression of the gratification of impulses.[17]

Advocates of the "culture of poverty" theory maintain that even when opportunities exist for the poor, their values and habits serve to undermine their chances for economic improvement.[18] Summarizing the view of the proponents of the distinctiveness of the culture of poverty, Della Fave indicates that "... at the core of the values attributed to the poor are the twin themes of a lack of desire to participate and advance in the institutions of the larger society and the willingness to condone behavior which the middle class regards as deviant."[19]

Critics of the "culture of poverty" thesis concede that the poor have some of these characteristics but argue that they are created by a lack of opportunity in their interactions with the system. Discrimination against the poor and their limited access to the structures of the dominant society results in fatalism, isolation, and deviant behavior. From this perspective *it is not that a sub-culture perpetuates itself, but that these attributes are reinforced and recreated anew with each rising generation of the poor.* The crux of the debate is whether the values of those in poverty are substantially different from those of the larger society and how those values come to exist.

A representative view of the critics of those who claim that the culture of poverty is characterized by its own value system has been expressed by Hyman Rodman, who introduced the "value stretch" notion.[20] He suggests that, "the lower-class person,

[13]Lola M. Ireland, Oliver C. Moles, and Robert O'Shea, "Ethnicity, Poverty, and Selected Attitudes: A Test of the Culture of Poverty Hypothesis," *Social Forces* 47 (June), 1969; p. 405-413. Also see: Roy Kaplan and Curt Tausky, "Work and the Welfare Cadillac: The Function of and Commitment of Work Among the Hard Core Unemployed," *Social Problems*, 19 (Spring) 1972, p. 469-483.

[14]Leonard Goodwin, "Do the Poor Want to Work: A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations," The Brookings Institute, Washington, DC, 1972.

[15]Richard Della Fave, "The Culture of Poverty Revisited: A Strategy for Social Research," *Social Problems*, Vol. 21, 5, 1972, p. 612-613.

[16]Ireland, Moles, and O'Shea, *Ibid.*

[17]Richard Della Fave, *Ibid.*

[18]Richard Della Fave, "The Culture of Poverty Revisited: A Strategy for Research," *op. cit.*, p. 609.

[19]See: Elliot Liebow, *Tally's Corner*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1967; Charles Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-proposals*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968; and Coward, Beagin, and Williams, "The Culture of Poverty Debate: Some Additional Information," *op. cit.*

[20]Hyman Rodman, "The Lower Class Value Stretch," *Social Forces*, 42, December 1963, p. 205-215.

without abandoning the general values of the society, develops an alternative set of values so that lesser degrees of success also become desirable . . . The result is that the members of the lower class have a wider range of values than others in the society."[21]

For a variety of reasons the adjustive mechanisms that rural low-income families now use in Appalachia have become more complicated, and in turn, more difficult to detect. It appears that some parents had made the initial accommodation in the forties and in some cases probably earlier (for instance, retreating from the community and obtaining welfare). Consequently, sons and daughters who were raised or born into these families were socialized in the family system under different circumstances than their parents.

Some of these children accepted the new configuration of value, but others developed American middle class values exogenously. For instance, low income families residing on the slopes of the hills, which usually faced more problems than bottomland farm families in some regions of Appalachia, went on welfare sooner.[22]

The new value configurations of rural Appalachian families showing signs of the "culture of poverty" (a culture usually found in urban centers) grew more complicated when (1) grown children of such families remain on welfare as their parents did and (2) the father loses (or never acquires) the ability to see himself in the position of more successful men.

5. Implications for Action Programs

Members of families such as those described above often use personal adjustment mechanisms; they may use only part of the value required to counterbalance the anxiety-producing, but still functional, middle class value. They may use parts of certain countervalues which are sometimes associated with traditionalism—living in harmony with nature, which is traditional, and at the same time accept welfare, which is not traditional. When dealing with these families, action agents should assume that their values are similar to those of other families, but for certain reasons they are stretched. Agents should attempt to understand the reasons and attempt to eliminate, neutralize or bypass them. For example, although children of certain low income families are allowed to drop out of school, parents continue to value familism and achievement. In such a case, the agent might ask the parents to become familiar with ways of helping him in an effort to keep them in school. Knowing that familism and achievement are functional values the agent might insist on parental cooperation and use this cooperation as a means of building the morale of parents.

Agents should work, not only with children or families of "able appearing" fathers who do not have jobs and have quit looking for them, they also must consider aid to older people, the disabled, and mothers who support their children. These are people whose problems (often involving physical health) become aggravated because of the unfavorable way in which they relate to their social environment and its new complexities. This relationship often involves *the feeling that society expects the*

[21]Hyman Rodman, *op. cit.*

[22]On the other hand, the children of some of these families were among the first to migrate. Some of these younger people did well in the city, creating resentment among the bottomland, higher status farm families every time they visited home, because some old families maintained old criteria for stratifying individuals, which included the family's status in the old community.

individual to try harder to acquire things others get much more easily, as well as the feeling that the community and neighborhood are now fragmented. Opportunities for creating an individual social environment (e.g., associating with others who have similar characteristics) are readily available in isolated hollows. This relationship with the social environment (which actually implies alienation) does not allow the individuals to develop the motivation necessary to overcome their difficulties. Thus, they fall back on their handicap and use it as an excuse to convince themselves and others that they cannot meet the demands placed on them.

This handicap might evidence itself in a mother with two children and a severe headache, which may or may not have a physical origin. The major indirect cause is often a result of the anguish produced by her feelings of alienation associated with feelings that society besides being complex, is unfair; too much physical effort is required from me for something others get more easily. The breaking up of families, loosening of community norms, conflicting values and similar aspects of discord, which have burdened the rural Appalachian much more than the average American, tend to further weaken the individual's ability to overcome difficulties, fulfill societal expectations and cope with the complexities of modern life. Under such circumstances, a mother who is the head of a household will not leave her children with an agency and try to secure a job. This obviously suggests that finding a job for a mother with two dependent children is not sufficient to keep her on the job. The same is true for male heads of households who find themselves in similar situations; for instance, men who work occasionally in lumberyards take very little advantage of the small farm they live on, and supplement their minimum income with welfare. These are often people who indicate that coal companies will not hire them because they are considered high risks. Government programs involving retraining of rural hardcore unemployed usually draw similar conclusions and suggest some sort of sociopsychological preparation before retraining.

A causal sequence of conditions has been shown to lead to much of the present discord in small rural Appalachian communities. One particular aspect of this sequence was to show the eventual transition of certain families, sometimes in a period of two or more generations, from respectable, or norm-abiding poor, to the so-called "culture of poverty." Illustrations will be presented to demonstrate means for developing action programs based on this causal sequence.

Concerning action programs in general, the implication of these notions is that the use of a single development approach for all parts of the community (e.g., the different types of neighborhoods described earlier), at least in relation to the attainment of certain objectives, could for certain parts of the community, produce strain instead of concord. The peculiarities of such neighborhoods or clusters of families, and the fact that they possess different attributes as a result of their relationship with the rest of the community and the outside, must be taken into account when proposing objectives for rural communities or considering methods of attaining them.

a. Social Support From Within the Non-conventional Group

Because stretched values or other means of internal response to stress described above do not seem to provide all the support the individual needs, further support is sought through involvement in sectarian fundamentalist churches and primary groups. The former usually includes churches characterized by emotional

fundamentalist doctrine and intimacy among their members, and the latter usually includes entire neighborhoods, cliques or clusters of from two to seven or eight families previously characterized as "families in retreat."[23] Included among such families are those with characteristics resembling those of the so-called "culture of poverty."

These clusters of families or entire neighborhoods are considered by people outside Appalachia, and other families and neighborhoods within the same community, as non-conventional families and neighborhoods which do not meet proper standards. Data show that some of the most negative attitudes toward these groups can be found among people in their own community and in particular in nearby relatively conservative neighborhoods.[24] These non-conventional groups, now declining in number, constitute a relatively large segment of the rural population of Central Appalachia. Because of the particular way they relate to the rest of the community and American society, the groups are difficult to change. They are expected to remain a major, if not the major, problem of Central Appalachia and West Virginia in the years to come.

Clusters of such families or entire neighborhoods can be found in most communities in Central Appalachia and West Virginia, even in such counties as Kanawha or Greenbrier in West Virginia, which might be considered more developed than other counties in the state. Because problems associated with these groups often require specialized knowledge and non-conventional methods of approach, Extension agents usually become involved with them much less than with other rural groups. For this reason and because of the numbers such families represent it has been decided to use them here in illustration of community organization programs where certain types of sub-groups should be treated differently, and organized, at least in the initial stages of the programs, as sub-communities.

Non-conventional neighborhoods are often located on mountain slopes and may consist of underemployed small farmers with periodic employment in lumber or a similar industry, female heads of households, and some older people. Many of these families at least periodically receive welfare, tend to have large numbers of children who often become school dropouts or include mothers with illegitimate children. In certain respects these neighborhoods resemble what Gallaher calls the Frontier I Type of Appalachian Community.[25]

[23]Empirical data from West Virginia show a close correlation between small rural neighborhoods, in particular those in distressed areas, and a strong need to alleviate, through religion and primary groups, anxieties produced by modern societal complexity and change. See John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," Research Report No. 5, Center for Appalachian Studies, West Virginia University, 1973.

[24]However, smaller, lower income rural communities generally have more favorable attitudes toward welfare than larger or more prosperous ones. See John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, *Ibid.*

[25]Frontier I is characterized by extreme social and physical isolation. Familism is a dominant value orientation. In fact, the opportunity of non-kin associational experience is very limited. Farms are small and inadequate, and deforestation and erosion are often present. Economic alternatives, except for the "government program," are largely absent. Economic and educational poverty are high, with strong fatalistic overtones to support the systems. However, school and welfare programs represent non-familial systemic links to the greater society. . . Puritanism, traditionalism, and individualism are also major value clusters in this setting. Important too is that there are few fields of activity other than the family that bear on community consciousness. Formal organization, therefore, is virtually non-existent. Art Gallaher "The Community as a Setting for Change in Southern Appalachia," *Appalachia: Its People, Heritage, and Problems*, Edited by Frank S. Riddel, Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 297-8.

Such neighborhoods are often located very close to what might be called a conservative neighborhood. The conservative neighborhood frequently includes a number of bottomland part-time farmers, retired people, miners with steady employment and in some cases families on relief. It may support two to four or five service agencies, and community members often use negative stereotypes to describe families in the nearby non-conventional neighborhood.[26] Next, one may find an intermediate type of neighborhood consisting, for example, of miners, older people (some of them in farming) and some families on assistance. These neighborhoods may have more permissive social standards than the conservative neighborhoods. The last two types of neighborhoods in certain respects resemble what Gallaher calls the Frontier II type of community.[27]

The three neighborhoods we have described above and primarily the more conventional type of neighborhood, fulfill, at least in recent years, most of their economic and part of their social (in particular the families which are better off) needs in a town which is usually the county seat. At least this is the case with the three types of neighborhoods mentioned above representing examples of clusters of neighborhoods from Greenbrier, Tucker and Randolph Counties, West Virginia.[28]

Later it is suggested that selected or modified conventional Extension or community development methods of approach be used more frequently for these critical groups. But before such effort is made it is hoped that agents will realize that the withdrawal of families of this type into their own neighborhood, and clique or cluster of similar type families, represents in large part an adaptive response to a situation that inhibits basic efforts to achieve social and self esteem. Because of this a number of rural Appalachians developed or increased the use of psychological rationalizations, including psychosomatic symptoms, and withdrew into groups that were often sub-cultural in nature; such groups kept them apart from the outside but provided them with needed support inside. Such support came in part from the development of new group norms which, among other things, suggest that under-employment or even

[26] In certain counties in West Virginia, instead of the type of so-called "Conservative Neighborhood" described above, one finds a centrally located neighborhood with similar or fewer services and more employment opportunities, but without bottomland farms. In the pre-World War II years most neighborhoods of this type were community centers where many of what we called respectable or norm-abiding poor from the mountain slopes fulfilled many economic and social needs. As described earlier, the majority of these families interacted with the rest of the community as members in good standing. Another common pattern is the cluster of households — non conventional or otherwise — which in some cases form loose neighborhoods.

[27] A second type, which will be called Frontier II, is very similar in its familism, the limited opportunities for non-kin associational experience, low level of formal organization, and the traditional limitation on local economic alternatives. Government programs are still a vital income source. This type differs from the preceding in that it is less remote physically and has social contact with the greater society. School, residential, and sanitation facilities are slightly better, and formal organization is slightly more complex since there are a few more nonfamilial systemic ties to the greater society. In this kind of community, for example, there may be a local peace officer such as a justice of the peace. The "community" may center in a crossroads store or some combination of service institutions, including a post office, but there is little commitment to community organization in terms other than familial. Art Gallaher, *op cit.*, p. 298; in sequence, the other three types of communities Gallaher discusses are the Mining Camp, the County Seat and the Urban Center.

[28] This combination of neighborhoods obviously is not unique, but it is useful for the particular analysis presented in the following pages.

receiving welfare—not an attribute of the traditional Appalachian culture—is justifiable under the circumstances. The same is often true for group norms dealing with lack of adoption of farm and home practices recommended by the county or home agent, e.g., proper use of fertilizer, or cultivation of all available land or even efforts to keep children in school.

In general, regardless of how the agent personally feels, particularly if he plans to intensify his contacts with these groups, he should realize that the development of norms of this kind or a return into traditional or non-conventional life styles, including a decision to remain in the so-called "culture of poverty," is, under certain circumstances, a necessary mode of adjustment. Because of increasing societal complexity and because conventional avenues for attaining standards of achievement which these people now feel are required have been unrewarding . . .

> . . .When conventional activities prove unrewarding, then activities outside the conventional normative order may provide an alternative source of status, and positive evaluations or experiences. Such accounts focus largely on *subcultural* forms of deviance, where unconventional activities are collectively organized into a subcultural alternative to the social order. This element of collective organization is often described as crucial, since it is the socially supportive reference group that rejects or "neutralizes" the values of the conventional normative system.[29]

Supportive reference groups with functions such as those of the non-conventional neighborhood or family clique groups in rural Appalachia can be found in a diversity of forms, for instance in city gangs,[30] and among prison populations.[31] For both groups extensive research and a better understanding of the causes and functions of their non-conventional behavior have been the basis of most urban action programs. The work presented here and in related publications is, from the point of view of cause and effect, in large part unique. It may serve to guide a reexamination of action programs for critical groups in rural Appalachia.

The notions which have been discussed here allow one to see that the non-conventional family life styles described above are not parts of the original Appalachian culture but are basically acquired adjustive mechanisms. Parents in most of these families are children or grandchildren of highly adjusted, fairly traditional rural Appalachian families. Otherwise, most rural Appalachian families today can be described as conventional and should be treated by agents as such.

b. Use of Conventional Versus Non-Conventional Extension Methods

What use is this last piece of information discussed above? What difference would it make to an Extension program, for instance, whether family attributes are part of the indigenous culture or simple reactive responses? The difference is probably immense; in this case not so much from an historical or theoretical point of view, but primarily from the point of view of Extension education. If these attributes are parts of the indigenous culture and the purpose is to alter them, conventional Extension teaching methods involving encouragement, community meetings, etc., in most cases will be perfectly appropriate. But if these attributes are plain reactive or adjustive responses,

[29] L. Edward Wells, "Theories of Deviance and Self-Concept," *Social Psychology*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 1978, p. 201.

[30] J. Short and F. Strodtbeck, "Group Process and Gang Delinquency," Chicago University Press, 1965.

[31] C. Title, "Institutional Living and Self-Esteem," *Social Problems* Vol. 20, 1972, pp. 65-79.

and particularly newly acquired ones, conventional Extension teaching methods may do more harm than good. In such a situation, both objectives and teaching methods should be determined on the basis of causal factors which already involve societal and community pressures for change which are overwhelming. This in turn suggests that modern individual or family discord should be considered in light of a wider social context. Furthermore, because of the extent of the discord and the extent of conventional social and economic needs, *the need for a highly efficient service delivery vehicle becomes apparent.*

Concerning the individual and the family, the agent should realize that action programs oriented to family change should consider the discord associated with individual members of the rural Appalachian family in light of: (1) *relationships within the family;* (2) *relationships between the family and the community; and* (3) *relationships between the community and the larger society.* Encouraging desires for higher levels of living while ignoring combinations of sociopsychological and economic realities may increase tendencies toward retreat or some other form of marginal adjustment. On the other hand, improving the level of living—which usually requires change in desires—is a major extension objective. *It is important to note that even conventional Extension approaches can be used for those other families if certain conditions—some described here—are understood and considered when action is taken.*

The diversity of problems which exist in rural Appalachia today, and diversity of approaches which are needed to cope with them are additional reasons why a highly efficient delivery vehicle is needed to provide the necessary services. This in turn suggests that action agencies should strive for the creation of a new and efficient vehicle, able to mobilize the entire community and provide support for the efforts of other agencies. In particular they should strive for the creation of a mechanism involving the entire community and a separate one for critical sub-groups; for instance the types of neighborhoods described above; these two considerations are examined next.

6. Need for the Creation of a New Community Development Organization

Possible obstacles to development include: the tendency for social withdrawal, the presence of certain non-conventional family and religious forms, lack of formal organizations, and lack of means, Appalachian values of individualsim and traditionalism, and the fact that rural Appalachia is behind other segments of the American society. These obstacles make it necessary for the creation of a new highly efficient community development organization. This organization should be able to overcome all the obstacles and help rural Appalachia establish a more desirable relationship with the larger American society, including its service agencies. Although the major function of the organization proposed here is similar to that of community development programs in general, the process of creating the organization and some of its functions are different, particularly in its ability to bring rural Appalachia into accord with the rest of the country.

> *Community Development Defined:* Community development is described as a "philosophy and a complex of processes" which infused the operations of all technical services, rather than a particular program—and that community participation was the necessary and essential trait which distinguished community

development.[12] Community development is seen as a conscious and deliberate effort aimed at helping communities to recognize their needs and to assume increasing responsibilities for solving their problems, thereby increasing their capacity to participate fully in the life of the nation. The primary responsibility for community development lies with the government, though the initiative may come from various communities themselves—from non-governmental groups or from individuals. Within this context, community organization is a complex of techniques, designed to involve lay people, specialists and technical services in community development.[13]

There are a number of considerations which are associated with these definitions. The following are some of those proposed by the United Nations: activities undertaken must correspond to the basic needs of the community; the first projects should be initiated in response to the expressed needs of the people. Local improvements may be achieved through unrelated efforts in each substantive field; however, full and balanced community development requires concerted action and the establishment of multi-purpose programs. Changed attitudes in people are as important as the material achievements of community projects during the initial stages of development.

Community development aims at increased and better participation of the people in community affairs . . . The identification, encouragement and training of local leadership should be a basic objective in any program. Greater reliance on the participation of women and youth in community projects invigorates development programs, establishes them on a wide basis and secures long-range expansion. To be fully effective, communities' self-help projects require both intensive and extensive assistance from the government.

Better accord does not refer here to becoming a mirror image of the outside but rather it refers to the ability of the rural community to screen new life styles and modify or successfully adopt desirable ones. Typical in this case is the acceptance of the ideology of consumerism and urbanism which, particularly after the World War II years, entered the rural Appalachian community completely unchecked and did more damage to the quality of life than any other factor. Rural Appalachian society needs a relatively efficient mechanism for, among other things, screening and adopting new ideas without fear of catching pneumonia every time the larger American society sneezes.

The creation of new opportunities is suggested for repeated personal interaction at the community level based on felt needs, which will eventually produce certain new desirable elements in the social organization of the community. Hopefully, these elements will bring the rural social organization into a more suitable or humane relationship with that of the broader society and allow it to function by itself, or with minimum supervision after the possible withdrawal of the change agent. It is suggested that *the same force, "personal interaction," which produced the earlier solidarity and social and cultural autonomy of the rural community is again used for the eventual*

[12]Pusic E. (ed.), "Urban and Rural Community Development," 11th National Conference of Social Work, Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, p. 25-26, 1962.

[13]United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs, "Social Progress through Community Development," New York, 1955, p. 15. For a description and assessment of the highlights of Community Development see Russel Belinski, "A Description and Assessment of Community Development," in *Selected Perspectives for Community Resource Development*, Edited by Luther T. Wallace, Daryl Hoobs, and Raymond D. Ulasin. Published by the Agricultural Policy Institute: School of Agriculture and Life Sciences, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, N.C. Also see Anthony Ferrise, "A Guide for Community Development," Center for Extension and Continuing Education, Publication No. 701, West Virginia University, 1977.

creation of a new equilibrium within the rural family and community—and between these two and the broader American society.

There are two considerations which should be kept in mind in light of the above propositions. (1) The objectives of the agents and, at least in the beginning of the program, the actual interaction process itself can be influenced and guided by the change agent. Therefore, new patterns of interaction will eventually emerge having the development of the community as a central theme. (2) Along with interaction, related information, initially in small amounts, can be released informally. The agent should try to set up situations where he or she can facilitate interaction and a flow or exchange of information among people regarding a particular subject matter.[14] Under these circumstances a new system of relationships (and along with it a new perception of reality) will eventually emerge and the objectives of the system will be in line with those of the agent.

While the new organization gradually emerges, the diffusion of information important to both the agent and particular segments of the community can take place. A general set of objectives based on communal and individual needs includes: first, those dealing with needs involving the entire community, such as projects involving water, sewer, roads, and training of leaders;[15] second, those dealing with the needs of ecological sub-units or population categories; for instance, people who live in particular neighborhoods or people interested in preschool education, school dropouts, sex education and family planning.

Considering the nature of the present rural community organization, the creation of a new, more efficient community organization for most rural Appalachian communities requires that it be started from scratch. Keeping in mind the notions about personal interaction discussed above, the agent should begin by setting up situations where people can interact with each other repeatedly at the community or sub-community level, preferably for purposes in accordance with the program and also in line with people's needs. In addition, to overcome the deeply-rooted obstacles mentioned earlier, certain values (along with more specific felt needs) should be employed. Given that community development is a process, the selection of objectives or their sequence should be based largely on the individual's possible involvement in the critical process of interaction. It is well to remember that *repeated interaction produces new patterns, new bonds and eventually a new organization of people.* Furthermore, new patterns or bonds develop more easily in small and isolated ecological units such as those in rural Appalachia. Jonestown, Guyana is a tragic but dramatic example of the power of interaction in an isolated and closely-knit ecological setting.[16]

[14]As already indicated, *interaction and communication* are the two basic processes which help the creation of new social systems (or groups) and the weakening of old ones.

[15]To the surprise of many, leadership training, selection and development is often mentioned as a community need after water, sewer, and roads. It is probable that such favorable attitudes towards leadership have developed in more recent years due to the concentrated efforts of the Extension Service in this area.

[16]As explained in a forthcoming bulletin, religious groups, in particular the typical Appalachian holiness churches, have a strong influence over people in rural hollows which Extension has to recognize and when possible use. The significant role that lay ministers could play in helping Extension agents with programs involving low-income families is emphasized. The role of holiness churches during the recent so-called period of "Great Appalachian

In general it is hoped that the above discussion will explain the need to emphasize, probably more than most other community development programs:

(1) The generic qualities of interaction which are relied on to create the new organization by bringing people together in a setting we create for them to meet felt needs. In other words, what is proposed as the basis for a new community development organization appropriate for rural Appalachia is the use of the same processes which made rural Appalachia what it is.

(2) That conventional designs for evaluating problems and building new rural American community organizations should be explained in light of a broad and more current framework such as the one advanced in earlier pages and other related publications.[37]

In relation to the latter it is important to note that the two major schools of thought dealing with causes of contemporary problems in rural Appalachia (one blaming the coal industry and the other the Appalachian culture)[38] do not provide sufficient causal explanation on which action programs could be built. Typical illustrations of the two schools of thought are presented in the two classics, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, by H. Caudill[39] and *Yesterday's People* by J. Weller.[40] These two books are used widely by action agencies to familiarize new recruits with the rural Appalachian culture. The book by Weller describes mining communities in Boone County, West Virginia, of a few decades earlier and emphasizes, probably quite accurately, frustration-instigated behavior (often involving families with marginal adjustment and community discord), which is not part of the traditional Appalachian culture. They are attributes acquired later under pressure from within and without such as those described earlier. Many of the life styles Weller described (and no doubt sincerely wanted to change)[41] continue to exist not because of lack of knowledge, but because of conditions such as those described earlier. If the reason for the existence of traditional or non-conventional life styles was plain lack of knowledge, traditional Extension programs emphasizing a higher level would be quite suitable. But for most of the types of families Jack Weller describes, before traditional objectives for raising

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Transition" has been noticeably constructive. For more information see: John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Religion in an Appalachian State," Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University Research Report No. 5, 1974. Also see: *Religion in Appalachia*, Edited by John Photiadis, Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University, 1978.

[37]In particular see: John Photiadis, "An Overview of the Processes of Social Transition in Rural Appalachia," Office of Research and Development, C.E.C.E., West Virginia University, 1978.

[38]For a summarization and review of these two schools of thought see Helen Lewis, "Fatalism and the Coal Industry," *Mountain Life and Work*, 46, (Dec., 1970), pp. 4-15; Also see Steven L. Fisher, "Victim-Blaming in Appalachia," *Cultural Theories and the Southern Mountaineer in Appalachia*, Edited by B. Ergood and B. Kuhre, Kendall and Humm Publishing Co. 1976, pp. 139-148.

[39]Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Little, Brown and Co., 1963.

[40]Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People*, University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

[41]Jack Weller was a Presbyterian minister involved in community development work in Boone County, West Virginia.

the families' level of living are proposed, the causes for the frustration-instigated behavior of the family should be examined.[42]

The same considerations suggested for the use of Extension programs for non-conventional rural Appalachian communities and families should be extended to the use of principles of community development, including the principles presented in the Appendix. These principles are taken from a proposed community organization program which emphasizes the creation of a new organization (new vehicle) and is probably more suitable for rural Appalachia than some other programs.

For instance, textbooks on "Community Development," as well as the first paragraph in the Appendix, often express people's needs in terms of "Community Discontent," which is seen as the basis for initiating and or nourishing the development of the new community organization. The data show that in West Virginia even in the non-conventional rural neighborhoods, including those Jack Weller describes, people are as satisfied with their way of life (including their employment situation) as people elsewhere in the state.[43] Similarly, many county agents feel that people in such neighborhoods do not want to change because they are satisfied with their way of life. However, the conditions they are satisfied with are a second, more or less forced choice. Therefore, either lack of discontent or efforts to create discontent should be considered with caution and under a framework based on wider cause and effect relationships. A discussion of the creation of the new organization follows, examining a few specific objectives among the many possible needs an agent might consider.

7. Selection of Objectives

Since interaction has to be repeated in order to create new patterns, *keeping interested and participating* is critical for the creation of the initial elements of the new organization.[44] In this light, it might be advisable for the agent to concentrate on smaller numbers of people and selected groups with clearly defined needs, particularly needs supported by basic motivational forces such as values. Along with this the agent should simply observe and listen: What do they like to do? How would they like to get

[42]The situation now is changing in that same community Weller studied and the pattern of change is in line with the notions discussed here. Since the energy crisis, when the economic situation in the mining community Weller studied improved, the social structure of the community started becoming more functional and alienation began to decline. The following are answers to questions about community trends given to the author in the summer of 1977, by the Reverend Jim Summerville, a Presbyterian minister who is doing action work today in the same community Weller (also a Presbyterian minister) worked and studied . . .

. . . The community is becoming more of a community, the social structure is becoming stronger through a natural process that develops in people's heads. It is not through agency planning, but the image people are developing in their minds; it is a grass roots movement.

. . . People seem to be less alienated than when we first moved into the community eleven years ago. They seem to know where they are going a little more, morale is slightly higher, there is less drinking and fighting but a little more adultery, and more petty theft among the young.

[43]John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, Research Report No. 5, 1973.

[44]Securing interest and participation is one of the major areas of concern of Extension Branches, such as the Division of Agriculture, Forestry and Community Development of the C.E.C.E. of West Virginia University. For related information see: Delmar Yoder, "Citizens' Participation," Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University, Mimeographed 1979. For information on participation of the poor in general see Ralph M. Kramer, "Participation of the Poor," Prentice-Hall, 1969.

involved? "People won't participate in activities they feel uncomfortable with because they don't have the skills and abilities to interact."[45]

It has been indicated that rural Appalachians place a high value on familism in addition to individualism. Also the data show that in recent years many rural Appalachians, particularly those of low income living in rural areas aspire to be like the rest of the country in terms of the major aspects of the American way of life, income and education, in spite of overt tendencies for retreat.[46] As a matter of fact, they often see education as the only means for their childrens' success. Today rural Appalachians have more favorable attitudes toward education than urban people. This is especially true with low income rural people.[47] In this light, the education of children has potential to easily become a need felt by some segments of the community; this is the kind of need which is good to use as a program objective. Establishment of kindergartens, for instance, might be—and for many Appalachian communities is—a critical and relatively safe alternative. Preschool education is critical for rural Appalachians because first, the proportion of Appalachian children who have such education is considerably lower than in the rest of the country,[48] and second, Appalachian children need this education more than children in the rest of the country.[49]

Furthermore, because the objective is also safe and relatively easy to attain it might be used as a pilot project. For rural Appalachian communities, with their limited formal organization, a pilot project of this kind could be seen as the first step in the entire community development process. Other projects based on felt needs of relatively larger numbers of people (e.g., bringing water into the community, sewer treatment facilities) are expected to follow the first set of smaller and more easily attainable objectives. The major consideration at this point is not so much the attainment of the objective itself, but the securing of repeated interaction among members of the community while focusing on subject matter areas which are in line with the overall aim-development.

The agent should eventually look for wider participation of people, bearing in mind two considerations: first, the selection of a sequence of objectives involving needs felt by large numbers of people; and second, the physical makeup of the region and the arrangement of situations which will make participation both desirable and convenient. At a later date closer involvement, wider participation, and objectives involving additional groups with special needs or interests could be ventured into. This might involve farmers interested in purchasing supplies as a group; people interested in particular recreational activities; workshops for men or women; education and activities for older people.

[45]Ronald Stump, "Open Letter to the Center Faculty," March, 1978, No. 34, *News and Perspectives*, Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University.

[46]John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," *op. cit.*

[47]*Ibid.*

[48]The proportion of children 3-4 years old enrolled in school in Appalachia in 1970 was 58% of that of the United States while in Central Appalachia it was only about 32%.

[49]For a description of reasons why children of low income families in general need special attention during their preschool years see Oliver C. Moles, Jr., "Educational Training in Low Income Families," in *Low Income Life Styles*, Edited by Lola M. Ireland, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1971.

Creating opportunities for cooperation among different community groups could add a new dimension to the organization process. For example, efforts to prevent school dropouts could also be used to facilitate interaction or cooperation between two different community groups. Educated older people with both free time and good will could, if properly approached help youngsters with their homework when their parents are unable to help them. Older people who understand high school mathematics might be found in larger neighboring communities.[50]

a. *Objectives and Policy*

Selection of all objectives should be decided on the basis of policy decisions made by the action agency. Some of these decisions deal with both basic and controversial questions. For instance, should rural non-conventional families be presented with alternative life styles (*which as mentioned earlier in this bulletin is an Extension policy*), or should they, as many suggest, simply be left alone? The question is particularly pertinent when the following two conditions are considered: first, people in rural Appalachian communities, including non-conventional ones, are as satisfied with their life as people in other communities, including urban ones;[51] second, many intellectuals today argue against the use of "social mobility" as a societal means of evaluating people. There are few recent trends justifying this argument. Similarly research shows that different sub-groups within the American society perceive social adjustment and normality differently. As a matter of fact, some psychologists are re-evaluating pathological symptoms as being in some sense adaptive, or if maladaptive, representing a "healthiness" psychological adjustment, because the society itself is "sick."[52] Some of the non-conventional neighborhoods described earlier might be representative of this adjustment.[53] If the policy decision of the agency is involvement, that is to present to the non-conventional or even conventional rural low-income Appalachian communities a choice of alternative life styles, should efforts be concentrated on helping children move out of the poverty cycle or should emphasis be placed on the entire family? If a policy decision suggests concentration on children, then objectives dealing with dropouts, family planning, teenage pregnancies and nutrition should become major targets. In this case, objectives directly involving adults should be chosen primarily on the basis of: (1) the direct or indirect support they can provide to the attainment of objectives set up for the children, and (2) a very favorable

[50]In a similar fashion older knowledgable women able to give information on birth control and related matters could be used as confidants for less knowledgable mothers of large families and limited means. Birth control and dropping out of school are critical issues for the families described. As indicated earlier, acceptance of these people by the family could be facilitated if the value of familism is properly used.

[51]See John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," *Ibid.* It is suggested in this bulletin that many of those who might be considered unsuccessful in rural West Virginia hollows are aware or feel that they have a choice of either remaining in their hollows or going out (i.e. migrate) and fighting for higher levels of living. Many have chosen not to fight and in this light they say, I prefer the present situation under these conditions, I'm satisfied. Five aspects of life were incuded in the questionnaire used in the survey conducted, using a cluster random sample of West Virginia communities. One of the questions involved "Economic conditions" and the other, "life the community can offer."

[52]Nathan Glazer "American Ethnic Groups" in *Responses to Change: Society, Culture and Personality*. Edited by George A. DeVos, D. Van Nostrand, 1975, p. 286.

[53]In an earlier publication where future trends were considered it was indicated that the ability of rural Appalachia to maintain socially semi-autonomous rural communities might be one of its future attractions. See John Photiadis, "Patterns of Social Transition in Rural Appalachia, An Overview," 1977, *op. cit.*

ratio between the objectives' contribution to the individual's adjustment (economic or socio-psychological) and the cost and effort required for the attainment of the objective.

A focus on objectives contributing to the removal of children from the poverty or low income cycle implies that non-conventional families and neighborhoods will not increase in large numbers in the future. However, what was discussed earlier and will be discussed further in the next section suggests that attachment to poverty, or to traditionalism or non-conventionality, is often an indirect result of the pressure increasingly applied by this vertically stratified society, demanding higher levels of living from all its citizens, but not providing sufficient opportunities for attaining them. Especially true in rural Appalachia, opportunities are fewer and welfare often appears as a relatively rational alternative.

The possibility is indirectly suggested that in the future new families may experience excessive pressure and through the years keep switching into the non-conventional life styles discussed above. This process of retreat of low-income families into poverty has been observed in a number of industrialized societies and may continue taking place in rural Appalachia because of conditions mentioned earlier.

If research can establish that this phenomenon continues, new types of objectives should be introduced. Such objectives should probably involve local and national initiatives and efforts probably too theoretical to be discussed here. Similarly, if non-conventional families continue slowly moving out of poverty, while other families keep making the switch into non-conventionality and welfare, then action agencies, including the Extension service, may be forced to explore and try to better understand the causes behind the phenomenon so that new alternatives might come to light.

b. *Economic Objectives and Societal Contradictions*

Most needs in the rural community today are economic. Because of their importance to a development program, the contradictions associated with them, and particularly the singular way agents often see them, economic objectives are examined here separately. Elementary needs for nutrition and health, and societal ideologies of consumerism and egalitarianism are now pressuring rural people, agents, and agencies toward objectives dealing with material comfort and related attributes. This is also the major direction of most Extension and community development programs and to a very large extent the program proposed here. But the main concern is in creating an organization which will later be used for more efficient attainment of all objectives, including economic ones. During this process, the following are considered: (1) the individual's internal world; (2) the relationship between the individual and his family; and (3) the relationship between his family and the rest of the community and American society.

Economic projects are in most cases treated by a single agency, or a single and a supportive agency involving one uncoordinated objective. Recent studies of rural economic development suggest that rural development strategies isolated by single agencies or institutions towards specific objectives are likely to fail because of unwanted economic side effects, even though specific goals are met.[54] It is suggested

[54]Earl O. Heady, "Objectives of Rural Community Development and Their Attainment," in *Rural Community Development*, edited by The Center for Agricultural and Rural Development, Iowa State University, 1972.

here that a broader societal perspective should be considered in addition to the broad economic picture. If however the attainment of significant economic objectives is readily available, e.g., retraining for available jobs, these objectives could become the major concern of the programs. In that case, organizational objectives and objectives dealing with reinforcement of values contributing to the attainment of the economic objectives become major supplementary objectives.

As indicated earlier, particularly during the post World War II years, Appalachia had been at the mercy of the industrial society by occupying extreme positions in the two major contradictions which characterize it: the ideologies of egalitarianism on the one hand and economic achievement (for which rural Appalachia had limited means of attaining during the 1950's and 1960's) on the other.[55] Many scholars point out that industrial societies are organized in such a way as to make inevitable inequality of wealth and power.[56] While maintaining the general belief in egalitarianism, rural Appalachians were close to the bottom of the continuum. Many conventional methods of stating objectives often have as their purpose the creation of socially desired images, ignoring the impact on the individual. The argument here is not against the creation of such images or against economic objectives. On the contrary, it is suggested that these objectives be examined in light of additional objectives which take into account the individual's internal world and the way it is related to his social involvement. For rural Appalachians who are more or less socially and economically adjusted, conventional economic models such as those mentioned above could be used on a priority basis. But it must be kept in mind that their attainment will be easier if the proper community organization is available. On the other hand, for some families such as those in retreat, higher aspirations for economic achievement should be examined in the light of social and psychological conditions. For example, economic shortcomings may aggravate other life stresses even in cases where they do not produce stress by themselves.[57] Because of the existence of many aggravations of this kind, particularly for Appalachia, the need to organize selected rural groups as separate sub-communities becomes apparent.

8. Need for the Creation of Sub-community Organizations

At the onset of the program, the new community organization should not be monolithic but should include semi-autonomous sub-community organizations based on: first, selected relatively autonomous ecological or social groups (or social systems) such as non-conventional neighborhoods and clusters of families; second, population categories with distinct needs such as unwed mothers, the elderly, farmers, and teenagers.

One such sub-community might include families and the religious groups discussed earlier; neighborhoods consisting of families which are members of a

[55]This contradiction, although more pronounced than in most other segments of America, is not unique to rural Appalachia and can be seen in the recent social pressures on black Americans and on lower socioeconomic strata in West Virginia. See: John Photiadis, "West Virginians in Their Own State and Cleveland, Ohio," Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1971.

[56]Robert H. Lauer, *Perspectives on Social Change*, 2nd Edition, Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1977, p. 124.

[57]For a description of the aggravating consequences of felt economic shortcomings see: Harvey M. Brenner, *Mental Illness and the Economy*, Harvard University Press, 1973, p. 244.

particular holiness church, or neighborhoods which have characteristics resembling those of the so-called "Culture of Poverty." As indicated, direct involvement of sub-groups of this kind at the community level (and even excessive uncoordinated contact with outside agencies) might produce further retreat or alienation.[58] Under these circumstances a conventional neighborhood should either be treated as a sub-community by itself or along with the trade center (e.g., the county seat). This decision should probably be based on the proportion of social and economic needs met at the trade center and the cultural compatibility of the two groups.

Ideally, as already indicated and as any other community development program would suggest, sub-communities should also be organized on the basis of particular needs. When possible, however, sub-communities should be organized keeping in mind both specific needs and avoidance of social pressure from the rest of the community or other possible forms of aggravation. A typical example here would be the creation of opportunities for interaction among female heads of households with children, who are receiving some form of relief and who need help running their households, for locating missing husbands (if married) and similar types of help.[59] In all these approaches, especially those involving community sub-units lacking formal organization, the generic power of personal interaction should be utilized for a considerable period of time so that eventually some form of a structure—including local leadership patterns—will emerge and gradually (in some cases after a number of years) become institutionalized. The latter will give the association the ability to survive without the presence of the agent. Eventually, these semi-autonomous sub-community organizations are expected to become more closely linked with the larger community organization. But at least during the first years of the program linkage with the larger community organization should involve only leaders and special projects, e.g., a common sewer system or use of older people or other volunteers from the trade center (or county seat) to help children in the sub-community with mathematics or other difficult subjects.

As was the case with the general community, the original selection of objectives should be determined by the potential of the objective to secure interaction among members of the sub-community and opportunities for personal contacts between the agent and members of the sub-community. The latter is necessary so that the agents, who often remain distant to those groups not eager to participate, will be better able to understand the families which belong to certain non-conventional groups, their aspirations, their needs, needs they see for their children, and finally the way they see themselves in relation to the rest of the community and the larger society. Eventually, people themselves may feel closer to the agent who after all represents a formal organization and therefore at least initially cannot be perceived intimately by the

[58]Uncontrolled exposure to any major aspect of the larger society, including action programs, might disrupt equilibrium in the small Appalachian community. Often this is also true with semi-autonomous low income areas in the city . . . "maximum feasible participation . . . are words that expanded the social revolution in San Francisco into a chain reaction of unrest and distrust that has left its mark on every major civic improvement project attempted here in recent years." John F. Shelley, former mayor of San Francisco, E.O.C. Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1967.

[59]Under certain circumstances interaction could initially be secured through a suggestion for a meeting by the welfare agency itself.

average rural low-income Appalachian. (At least among West Virginians, rural low-income people have the lowest trust in government officials.)[60]

Members of some of the low-income neighborhoods, particularly those with a considerable number of individuals on some sort of relief, are often peaceful and passive. The passive behavior often includes a complete lack of participation in any program (often including lack of informal participation within the neighborhood itself except with relatives and, in cases, close neighbors) and should not necessarily be hypothesized by the agent as behavior produced by a particular value or lack of a value: ". . . the more responsive hypothesis is that residents of the anomic neighborhood engage in passive behavior, and while displaying alienation, do so in a diffuse rather than a specific and focused sense."[61]

This statement was made in reference to "anomic neighborhoods" in the city, but similar frustration-instigated behavior (especially the Frontier I type) can be observed in many rural neighborhoods in Appalachia. In contrast to the characteristic cohesiveness of the early rural Appalachian neighborhood, some of those neighborhoods characterized as social systems (or groups) in retreat appear fragmented or atomized. Fragmentation probably occurs as people withdraw into their own families, or into a cluster of similar types of families. For many of these families or clusters of families, the only occasion for wider social participation is the holiness or sectarian fundamentalist church. For this reason it was suggested that Extension or other action agencies look closer at the role these groups play within the sub-community and examine their possible contribution to the organization of the sub-community.

In rural neighborhoods that often include a considerable number of fully-employed families, in the mines in particular, people are not passive but gregarious, reactive, sometimes rough and sometimes ready to ridicule any proposals the agent might set forth. In such cases instead of simpler, but more easily attainable objectives having as a purpose plain interaction, *sometimes* a more concrete and impressive objective, e.g., the building of a sewer or water system, might be a more appropriate entry.[62] But what the agent should realize is that methods of organization, and particularly leadership selection, training and development, should be different in these two types of neighborhoods. Even more different (as compared to anomic[63] neighborhoods) methods of organization (including contacts with the trade center) should be employed in comparison to what was called earlier the "conventional" or "conservative" type of rural neighborhood. Differences between anomic and conservative neighborhoods will remain in rural Appalachia for years to come. Therefore, to develop methods of organization for these neighborhoods, leadership

[60]See John Photiadis and B.B. Maurer, "Community Size and Social Attributes," Center for Extension and Continuing Education, West Virginia University, 1973.

[61]Donald J. Watten, "Neighborhoods in Urban Areas," in *New Prospectives on the American Community*. Edited by Roland J. Warren, Rand McNally Co., Third Edition, 1976, p. 229.

[62]Major objectives of this nature are obviously easier to attain when they are supported by sufficient government assistance and widely held and strong felt needs. But in general, at least in rural Appalachia, major objectives can be attained more safely when the new organization of the sub-community has a certain form.

[63]Anomic (or anomic behavior) is a central aspect of alienation and refers to the way the individual sees order in society and *feels a part of it*.

development should be particularly emphasized by action agencies. Important clues about the organization of such neighborhoods can be taken from urban or general studies.[64]

The agent should be familiar with some elementary principles derived from the nature of the neighborhood itself and especially principles reflecting factors such as isolation and physical terrain. For instance, the agent should know that: (1) many projects can be implemented or tested more easily in neighborhoods than in a larger city because of their flexibility;[65] (2) because of visibility and facility for personal interaction, neighborhoods can easily become mechanisms for social control and implementation or acceptance of new practices and new norms; (3) because of their size and (often) homogeneity it is relatively easy (at least in rural Appalachia) to detect neighborhood behavior instigated by frustration or motivation, and on this basis decide on the use of conventional or non-conventional methods of approach. The last principle includes both methods of organizing the sub-community and selection of objectives.

In sum, rural Appalachia needs a more efficient community development organization. But such an organization is needed even more by the anomic sub-community. Although this sub-community needs more help (e.g., in job retraining, socialization of children, health, nutrition), because of its atomized nature and retreat it cannot in its present form profit from the group processes described above or outside help from government or other sources.

In practical terms this new development organization could involve parts which are organized formally and informally, and could probably also include supportive mechanisms. (1) Formally organized parts might involve the creation of new formal organizations, for instance, a buying and selling cooperative for farmers, a class for preschool education, a homemakers' club, or any organization based on activities identified with felt needs. (2) Informally organized parts might involve the establishment of relationships between the agent and certain sub-groups, (e.g., kinship groups and informal leaders). (3) Supportive mechanisms might involve attitudes favoring the new development organization and even the strengthening of certain values. Some social scientists see problems in the creation or strengthening of values, but often a decision to reinforce values becomes necessary. This is particularly *true when proper decisions about policy and objectives are clearly determined. Under such circumstances attitudes about work or helping children succeed in school and even strengthening of the value of success in general might be the needed fuel to overcome some of the problems discussed earlier.*[66]

[64]See D.I. Warren and D.L. Clifford et al., "Helping Neighborhoods in the Urban Community" N.I.M.H. Project MH-24982-Final report, 1976. For a review of leadership studies and tactics, see D.I. Warren and R.B. Warren, "The Neighborhood Organizers' Handbook," Notre Dame University Press, 1976.

[65]When necessary this could include coordination of activities (involving the neighborhood and even individual families) by other agencies; a responsibility consistent with the aims of Extension which are broader than those of other action agencies.

[66]Concerning improvement of human resources in rural areas, in a recent publication Chadwick and Bahr suggest rehabilitative and prevention activities . . . "The objective is to provide people with experiences and attributes that will facilitate their participation in the labor force." Bruce A. Chadwick and Howard U. Bahr "Rural Poverty" in *Rural USA Persistance and Change*, Edited by Thomas Ford, Iowa State University Press, 1978, p. 191.

9. Leadership Patterns for Smaller and Larger Rural Communities

Due to the lack of formal organization and related activities, leadership roles have in the past been very limited, particularly at the sub-community level. As a consequence, new opportunities for interaction should be used simultaneously for the selection and eventually development and promotion of new community and sub-community leaders. When possible sub-community leaders should be chosen from informal leaders able to express the views of extended families, religious and clique groups, and isolated clusters of families.[67]

One of the major problems of anomic groups in rural Appalachia is their limited input in decision making. In anomic neighborhoods informal leaders often do not stay in contact with each other. However, some of them (sometimes only one) maintain contact with most or all informal leaders and are often aware of feelings and needs of the groups they represent. The latter might be called neighborhood leaders and depending on their other qualifications should be trained, and when possible included in the sub-community organization.[68] This suggests that Extension should first consider special workshops for training this type of informal leader, and second, during training, the social sensitivities and related attributes of these leaders should be considered. If possible, training should include both methods of involving people in the neighborhood, and information about key issues, e.g., agencies available, and problems with dropouts.

Efforts to increase interaction and communication between community and the emerging sub-community leaders should be one of the initial steps of consolidation of the larger community organization. As in any other similar situation the agent should obviously be aware of the personalities and motives of community and sub-community leaders so that the possibility of conflict will be held to a minimum.[69] At least for rural Appalachia, which includes many autonomous sub-communities often in conflict with the rest of the community, the need for the establishment of a coordinating committee (more inclusive than the county Extension committee) is obvious. Furthermore, the inclusion of sub-community leaders into this coordinating committee will probably become apparent during the initial stages of the organization process.

Typically, an organizational design or simply a leadership selection and development scheme, concentrating on setting up situations for interaction, is appropriate for either conventional or marginal neighborhoods and for relatively

[67]For instance, concerning informal holiness or sectarian fundamentalist churches, lay ministers, if willing to serve, should seriously be considered as group representatives.

[68]Considering the importance of these leaders it is probably advisable that methods of agent training be developed which consider these attributes. For instance, it might be necessary for Extension or other agents to become familiar with the organization and institutions of these neighborhoods and families. Cultural and related programs for Appalachia are excellent for building morale, but the real confidence in a rural society will come only when the problems of non-conventional families and neighborhoods are faced directly. Organizing these families and neighborhoods, including the training of leaders under the controlled conditions described earlier, is probably one of the most economical ways of increasing the help that Extension and other agencies are already providing to these groups.

[69]Often contacts between these two types of leaders—one type often chosen because of highly conservative credentials (and eager to tell the other what is good for him), and the other sometimes chosen for the opposite reason (and feeling very sensitive about his position or his withdrawal)—produces conflict, and the attainment of either short or long range objectives is sometimes impossible.

homogeneous small trade center communities with few satellite neighborhoods (for instance, a community having one to 10 or 20 service agencies, and a few satellite neighborhoods and open country households). Beyond this size, the larger the community and the more complex the services and ecological patterns, the more the program is expected to include conventional features, e.g., initial work with already organized parts and experienced leaders.[70] In this case, particularly for larger communities, interaction should initially be employed for the development of linkages among existing leaders. Efforts should be made to create a coordinating committee, an important function of which should be the development, first, of some sort of loose (in part informal and casual) social system consisting of the coordinating committee leaders and subgroup representatives.

For community settings, such as those described here, coordination should be seen as the most important aspect of the function of community leadership. This suggests that, depending on the community, *the selection and training of members of the coordinating committee are issues which should be considered very carefully.* Harold Kaufman, who has studied rural communities in Tennessee, sees three types of relationships which should be considered in the creation of effective coordinating and development structures. These relationships are (1) between the local and the external or larger society, (2) between the group and the technically oriented, and (3) between the voluntary and the governmental.[71] There are indications that a small number of leaders able to conduct interorganizational negotiations is usually more productive than a large number of untrained leaders. Therefore for low income neighborhoods of particular importance are leaders representing members outside the community; leaders with technical skills and leaders, voluntary or otherwise, with diverse connections, including connections with certain target neighborhoods.

Normally interorganizational negotiations appear to be the task of paid agency officials, not voluntary leaders.[72] Since the overall aim of Extension incorporates objectives of other agencies, the role of interorganizational negotiations is squarely within the responsibilities of the county Extension agent.[73]

10. Conclusions

Obstacles to development such as the presence of certain non-conventional family and religious groups, lack of formal organization, lack of other means (often economic), Appalachian values of individualism and traditionalism, the fact that rural Appalachia is behind other segments of the American society, and finally the existence

[70]Many Appalachian rural low income leaders feel comfortable primarily when they can interact with others including formal leaders in a quasi-informal manner.

[71]Harold F. Kaufman, "Community Influentials: Power Figures or Leaders." Journal of the Community Development Society, Vol. 6, No. 1, (Spring 1977) pp. 79-87.

[72]Linton C. Freeman, *Patterns of Local Community Leadership*. Bobbs and Merrill Co. 1968, pp. 34-35.

[73]For some county seats this role is often played by the city manager and sometimes the official representative of the Chamber of Commerce. For the county as a whole, although there might be boards such as "Welfare Boards," the Extension agent seems to be highly justified in playing the role.

of a service delivery system disassociated from any effort to organize rural communities, in particular low income neighborhoods, make necessary the creation of a new, highly efficient community development organization. As the basic tool for the creation of the new vehicle the same basic process is suggested, "personal interaction" which produced the initial cohesiveness and social autonomy of the early rural Appalachian community and kinship system, and the problems which they eventually brought about. Two of these problems are the appearance or increase of non-conventional families and neighborhoods and the lack of formal (and leadership) organization. It has been suggested that, at least initially, non-conventional neighborhoods be organized and treated as separate sub-communities.

The organization of such sub-communities should also be built on the basis of "personal interaction." Sub-communities should be linked with the rest of the community through special projects and cooperation of leaders (e.g., through direct or indirect representation of sub-community leaders on the "Community Coordinating Committee"). During those early stages of organization, personal interaction should be used among members of the sub-community for the selection of leaders, and between these leaders and members of the coordinating committee, and certain community leaders (agency representatives in particular).

Solutions to problems are seen not so much in direct changes of major structural aspects of the rural community, but rather in improving the coordination of parts which produce anomalies, in particular parts relating rural neighborhoods to the outside. Coordination and, in particular agency coordination and linkage of multiple interest leaders with rural communities seem to be a problem in rural Appalachia and an area where Extension could contribute.

"Personal interaction" for the building of community and, in particular, sub-community organizations should be secured through efforts to meet felt needs, economic or social. If, however, the attainment of significant economic objectives is readily available (e.g., retraining for available jobs) these objectives could become the major concern of the program. In that case organizational objectives and objectives dealing with reinforcement of values contributing to the attainment of the economic objective become major supplementary objectives.

The overall aim of the new organization should be *the individual's adjustment to society and his long term satisfaction with life.* Because the organization and its major elements (e.g., people's attitudes, leadership patterns, sub-community organizations) will be formed through basic processes and felt needs and with the purpose stated above, certain conditions should eventually be expected. The creation of the organization will require time and some sophistication in planning—attributes which worry administrators. However, the organization will be expected to (1) eventually increase its ability to meet objectives, including economic ones,[74] (2) increase its chances of surviving after the partial or complete withdrawal of the agent, and (3) monitor more closely than otherwise the impact of the larger society on the rural community.

[74]Eventually, it is expected that the sub-community, the low income one in particular, will acquire the ability (when necessary with the help of the coordinating committee) to protect the rights of members and insure responsibility of various agencies.

Depending on the extent of desired involvement and the free time available, the agent could decide to build only certain parts of the total organization as well as determine the kind of help he would seek. The agent might choose to concentrate only on building some or all sub-community organizations and a coordinating committee which would include some of the new sub-community and community leaders (including agency representatives with special skills and interests in neighborhood sub-communities).

Because the organization of the sub-communities is often time-consuming, the agent might decide to use volunteers, social work students on field placement, public works placements, or other available qualified individuals. The Extension may also choose to build the new organization of the sub-community(s) and the linkages between sub-community and trade center leaders slowly. However, even in this case the end results should be institutionalization of or crystallization of the partial organization.

A partial approach might also be used in the selection of objectives. The agent can concentrate on one or more objectives after (and even before) the completion of the partial community organization.[75]

Finally, some of the shortcomings associated with community development programs should be mentioned, focusing on the creation of a new development organization. First, interaction among people (often with diverse backgrounds and interests) is involved and therefore the possibility for conflict is always a factor. Second, the ideology of "Community Development" in general involves definite assumptions and biases in favor of citizen involvement, consensus, localism, and gradualism. Because of these factors, the programs can often become instruments of social service rather than of social change and lopsided in favor of cultural and psychological preconditions to development as compared to economic ones.[76]

[75]In light of justifications discussed earlier, for some rural communities, helping children move out of the poverty cycle might be one such objective. On the basis of this objective, educational and organizational activities related to keeping children in school, family planning, preschool and education, prevention of teenage pregnancies and helping parents become motivated and acquire skills for helping their children, become the types of objectives the agent uses for stating working objectives. If the creation of the partial organization is not completed and helping children move out of poverty is a need felt by a considerable number of people, teaching situations should be selected with the additional purpose of securing interactions for building the organization. But if the critical objection is raising the family income rather than keeping the children in school, a different set of objectives should obviously come into focus.

[76]For more information on potentials and limitations of community development see Short, K. Khinduka "Community Development: Potentials and Limitations" in *New Perspectives in the American Community*. Edited by Roland Warren, Rand McNally pp. 500-521. 1977.

Appendix

Some Principles Relating To the Organization of The Community*

1. Discontent with existing conditions in the community must initiate and/or nourish the development of the association.
2. Discontent must be focused and channeled into organization, planning, and action in respect to specific problems.
3. The discontent which initiates or sustains community organization must be widely shared in the community.
4. The association must involve leaders (both formal and informal) identified with, and accepted by, major subgroups in the community.
5. The association must have goals and methods of procedure of high acceptability.
6. The program of the association should include some activities with emotional content.
7. The association should seek to utilize the manifest and latent good will which exists in the community.[1]
8. The association must develop active and effective lines of communication both within the association and between the association and the community.
9. The association should seek to support and strengthen the groups which it brings together in cooperative work.
10. The association should be flexible in its organizational procedures without disrupting its regular decision-making routines.
11. The association should develop a pace for its work relative to existing conditions in the community.
12. The association should seek to develop effective leaders.
13. The association must develop strength, stability and prestige in the community.

*Taken from *Community Organization* by Murray G. Ross with B.W. Lapping, Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 157-202.

[1]See Charles Loomis and Zona K. Loomis, *Modern Social Theories*, D. Van Nostrand, 1961, p. 266.

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